

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03

NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 USIA-15 TRSE-00

MBFR-03 SAJ-01 SS-15 NSC-10 ACDA-19 EB-11 OMB-01 H-03

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C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 3817

POLICY

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MCAP, NATO

SUBJECT: PROPOSED ACTION PROGRAM ON BURDENSARING

SUMMARY: TO ACHIEVE ACCEPTABLE PROGRESS TOWARD MORE EQUITABLE BURDENSARING IN ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, US WILL NEED TO ASSIST EUROPEANS IN SEARCH FOR A "EUROPEAN SOLUTION" BY SUGGESTING POSSIBLE APPROACHES, SPECIFIC TARGETS, AND POSSIBLY ACTIONS WHICH WOULD MEET OUR DESIRES. THIS MESSAGE CONTAINS SUGGESTIONS ON THESE MATTERS AND A PROPOSED PROGRAM FOR CONSIDERATION AND COMMENT BY WASHINGTON. END SUMMARY.

1. IN MY VIEW, THE ALLIES ARE NOT LIKELY TO TRIP OVER EACH OTHER RACING TO ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION RELIEVING US OF BURDENS RESULTING FROM STATIONING FORCES IN EUROPE. THE SOLUTION SHOULD BE A "EUROPEAN SOLUTION", BUT IT WON'T JUST HAPPEN. US WILL NEED TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL AND CONTINUED STIMULUS.

2. TO PLAY ROLE WHICH I THINK US MUST ASSUME IN ORDER TO SECURE CONFIDENTIAL

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DESIRED RESULTS FROM ALLIES AND TO INSURE THAT RESULTS REGISTER WITH US CONGRESS AND PUBLIC, I RECOMMEND PROGRAM OF TYPE SPECIFIED IN PARA 4 BELOW. AS FIRST STEP IN SUCH A PROGRAM, I SUGGEST PRESENTATION TO THE NAC NO LATER THAN AUGUST 21 OF US STATEMENT

WHICH I AM SENDING SEPTTEL.

3. PROPOSED STATEMENT IN SEPTTEL CONTAINS LENGTHY ILLUSTRATIVE LIST OF MEASURES WHICH WOULD OFFSET US BUDGETARY COSTS AND/OR MILITARY BOP DEFICIT. I BELIEVE THAT ALLIES SHOULD BE GIVEN THIS LIST IN ORDER TO SPEED CONSIDERATION OF SPECIFIC INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE ACTIONS WHICH THEY MIGHT TAKE TOWARD OBJECTIVE SOUGHT BY U.S. REQUEST THAT WASHINGTON PROVIDE FIGURES FOR THE U.S. BUDGETARY COSTS FOR EACH ITEM ON THIS LIST AS WELL AS A BREAKDOWN SHOWING HOW MUCH IS SPENT BY ITEM IN EACH OF THE NATO COUNTRIES. I NOTE THAT FIGURES APPLYING TO FRG FOR SOME OF THESE ITEMS ARE AVAILABLE (STATE 127877). IN VIEW OF FACT THAT NATO STUDY GROUP MEETS AUGUST 23 FOR INITIAL CONSIDERATION OF A RANGE OF POSSIBLE BURDEN-SHARING MEASURES OUR ALLIES MIGHT UNDERTAKE, IT IS IMPORTANT TO HAVE WASHINGTON APPROVAL FOR SUBMISSION OF US LIST IN NAC BY AUGUST 19.

4. PROPOSED ACTION PROGRAM. FOR TIMELY VISIBLE PROGRESS AND RESULTS FROM ALLIES, I BELIEVE US AGREED UPON ACTION PROGRAM OF THE KIND DETAILED BELOW IS NEEDED.

A. AUGUST 15-20: WASHINGTON FORMULATION OF BURDENSARING ACTION PLAN AND APPROVAL OF CONTENT OF PRESENTATION TO NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL.

B. AUGUST 20: RUMSFELD PRESENTS US STATEMENT TO NAC (SEPTTEL) LISTING ILLUSTRATIVE SPECIFIC BURDENSARING MEASURES FOR ALLIES' CONSIDERATION.

C. AUGUST 23-24: SECRETARIES OF STATE, DEFENSE AND TREASURY MEET IN GROUP WITH WASHINGTON AMBASSADORS OF NATO NATIONS TO EMPHASIZE GREAT IMPORTANCE ADMINISTRATION ATTACHES TO BURDENSARING AND DISCUSS POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS.

D. AUGUST 24: SECSTATE CABLE TO US EMBASSIES, ALL NATO CAPITALS, FORWARDING STATEMENT PRESENTED TO NAC AND ASKING FOR EACH EMBASSY'S POLITICAL ASSESSMENT AND SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS ON WHAT COUNTRY COULD DO REALISTICALLY IN BURDENSARING.

E. SEPTEMBER 1-5: MAJOR PUBLIC STATEMENT IN WASHINGTON, NEW YORK OR BRUSSELS, BY ADMINISTRATION SPOKESMEN OR SPOKESMAN (WHITE HOUSE, SECSTATE, SECDEF, SECTRES OR PERMREP). START OF A DIALOGUE CONFIDENTIAL

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WITH THE PRESS AND THE PUBLIC DESIGNED TO TELL THE STORY AS TO WHAT WE ARE TRYING TO ACCOMPLISH IN BURDENSARING.

F. SEPTEMBER: RUMSFELD VISITS WASHINGTON FOR SESSIONS WITH MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, PRESS, ETC., ON APPROACH TO BURDENSARING. COULD INCLUDE PUBLIC SPEECH.

G. SEPTEMBER 6-20: VISITS BY WASHINGTON TEAM (STATE, DEFENSE, TREASURY, PLUS USNATO REP) TO NATO CAPITALS TO DISCUSS STEPS COUNTRIES ARE CONSIDERING.

H. SEPTEMBER 20-30: RUMSFELD VISITS SELECTED EUROPEAN CAPITALS TO DISCUSS BURDENSARING MEASURES INCLUDING EUROGROUP'S ROLE.

I. SEPTEMBER 25: BRIEFING ON BURDENSARING FOR NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY SUB-GROUP ON ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN NATO MEMBER COUNTRIES (CURRENTLY SCHEDULED TO MEET IN WASHINGTON ON THAT DATE).

J. (NOTE: ON OCTOBER 1, US EXPECTS REPORT OF STUDY GROUP ON BURDENSARING TO NAC.)

K. NOVEMBER 7: IN CONJUNCTION WITH NPG MEETING, SECDEF HOLDS BILATERAL MEETINGS ON BURDENSARING ISSUES.

VARIOUS OTHER ACTIONS MIGHT BE PROPOSED, INCLUDING PRESIDENTIAL ATTENTION TO THIS SUBJECT IN THE COURSE OF POSSIBLE VISIT TO EUROPE.

5. AS WE PROCEED THROUGH THIS PERIOD, IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO COMMUNICATE WITH CONGRESS CONTINUOUSLY SO THAT MEMBERS WILL BE AWARE OF EACH STEP TAKEN AND EACH SPECIFIC ACCOMPLISHMENT.

6. OVERALL GOAL SHOULD BE SUBSTANTIAL BURDENSARING ACTION BY ALL MEMBERS OF NATO. ALTHOUGH FOR SOME MEMBERS THIS WILL MEAN ONLY TOKEN MEASURES, OTHERS HAVE THE POTENTIAL FOR MUCH GREATER PARTICIPATION AND SHOULD RECEIVE A PROPORTIONATELY GREATER PART OF OUR ATTENTION.

7. ASSUMING A TOTAL SOLUTION WILL TAKE TIME, WE SHOULD CONSIDER ANNOUNCING ANY CONCRETE RESULTS SEQUENTIALLY AS THEY ARE COMMITTED TO IN SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER.

8. IN THE CASE OF ICELAND, HOWEVER, IT SEEMS UNDESIRABLE TO MAKE ANY APPROACH ON BURDENSARING IN VIEW OF THE DELICATE PROBLEMS WE FACE WITH THAT COUNTRY.

9. SINCE US WILL BE SEEKING RELIEF FROM ADDED BUDGETARY COSTS AND MILITARY BOP DEFICIT RESULTING FROM STATIONING FORCES IN EUROPE THROUGH A NEW OFFSET AGREEMENT WITH FRG AS WELL AS THROUGH NEW
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BURDENSARING ARRANGEMENTS IN NATO, IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF WASHINGTON COULD SET TENTATIVE TARGETS IN DOLLARS FOR EACH OF THESE SEPARATE NEGOTIATING EFFORTS. TARGET FIGURES WOULD NOT BE REVEALED TO OUR ALLIES, OF COURSE, BUT HAVING THEM WE WOULD BE IN A BETTER POSITION TO GUIDE ALLIES TOWARD AN OUTCOME US WOULD FIND SATISFACTORY. HOW MUCH OF THE \$440 MILLION OF ADDED BUDGETARY COSTS AND HOW MUCH OF THE MILITARY BOP DEFICIT SHOULD BE COVERED IN NEW ARRANGEMENTS NEGOTIATED WITH OUR ALLIES HERE AN

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